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Kohl casts an optimistic eye over Ostpolitik

When Edward Shevardnadze visited the Federal Republic this month, he became the first Soviet Foreign Minister to go to Bonn in seven years. The visit reflects the changing nature of relations between Bonn and the East Bloc. This report is by Wolf J. Bell in *General-Anzeiger Bonn*.

Unperturbed optimism is one of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's fundamental qualities. The way he outlined how he thought foreign policy would shape up this year was a case in point.

In his insouciance, he seemed blithely to disregard the huge mountain of European and transatlantic problems that will have to be dealt with.

The Opposition SPD immediately got stuck into Kohl for what it says is his lack of clarity. But it apparently overlooked an astonishingly new aspect of his remarks.

With self-confident single-mindedness the Chancellor indicated that he intends making full use of the scope created last year for a more active Ostpolitik by Bonn and spearheading Alliance activities in this field.

The scheduled visit to Germany by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov is given particular priority in Kohl's programme for 1988.

In view of the long list of other international appointments, however, Gorbachov's visit is unlikely to take place during Bonn's six-month presidency of the European Community, which lasts until the end of June.

Talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze during his visit to Bonn this month will provide more information on the timing of Gorbachov's visit.

Doubts can no longer be cast on the serious intention of both sides to make a fresh start in Soviet-German relations.

An essential prerequisite is the firm acceptance of Ostpolitik in the West.

Kohl emphasised this fact and at the same time established a special concession between policy objectives vis-à-vis East Bloc countries and progress in the European Community during Bonn's presidency.

Indeed, progress or failure in one field has an automatic impact on the other. Franco-German coordination is particularly important.

Kohl merely hinted at the extent to which this had been improved during recent weeks.

The Chancellor apparently wanted to avoid anticipating the jubilee meeting on 22 January marking the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Franco-German Cooperation.

During this meeting it is expected that, apart from practical steps towards greater defence cooperation, a joint security council as well as economic and

finance councils will be set up by both governments, enabling even greater policy coordination.

For different reasons Kohl was well-advised not to go into German-American relations in greater detail.

All the signs are that a highly critical phase lies ahead in the dialogue with Washington over the future overall strategy of the West.

The tendency shown by the USA to delay the signing of the United Nations convention on a global ban of C-wapons is a signal of serious differences of opinion.

Bonn was even more alarmed by the report submitted in the Pentagon by the Commission for Integrated Long-Term Strategy.

The report refers in the process of European cooperation in accordance with the spirit of the Helsinki final accords as a "potentially catastrophic" concept.

The report totally rejects a ban on C-weapons, stresses that Nato should be able to carry out a conventional counteroffensive "deep into enemy territory" and that Alliance partners should be allowed to take defensive action "beyond the borders of the Alliance".

Kohl made no reference to the expected degree of difficulty during the talks between the US Administration and Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, which begin in Washington on 21 January.

He simply called to mind the government policy speech he made on 10 December, which describes Bonn's position clearly enough.

His speech assumed that the basic objectives of the tried and tested 1967 Harmel Report, which defined a guaranteed defensive capacity and the willingness to cooperate with East Bloc countries as equally significant elements of the Nato strategy, would be retained.

The Commission for Integrated Long-Term Studies, however, with Pentagon secretary of state Kissinger and Brezhnev among its list of previous members, has completely questioned this ap-

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Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze (left) makes a point as he meets Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Bonn. (Photo: dpa)

Genscher visit reveals a change of attitude by the Poles

Will the real Marian Orzechowski please step forward? Last July, Poland's Foreign Minister said in a newspaper interview that the spirit of revisionism was still alive in the Federal Republic of Germany.

He said Bonn was seeking to play a dominant role in Europe and that it regarded Poland as part of a *Mitteleuropa* concept.

Poland's interest in the German Question and in relations with Bonn should be become "an interest of the entire socialist community". This sounds very much like an "Orzechowski doctrine".

Now when Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was due to visit Poland three years ago, a programme of private visits was submitted to the Polish authorities. It was rejected and Genscher called off his visit at the last minute.

This is where the other Orzechowski stepped in — the man who welcomed Genscher during his visit to Poland this month.

The same private programme suggested by Genscher for his planned trip three years ago was resubmitted — and approved. And the man who approved

it was none other than Foreign Minister Orzechowski.

It was also Orzechowski who this time said that the fate of those Germans who lost their homes in what is now Polish territory belong to the historical background of German-Polish relations. No Polish official had ever said this before.

The jarring tone from Warsaw last summer was provoked by the formation of a Franco-German brigade and the visit to Bonn by East German leader Erich Honecker. Both events aroused considerable suspicions in Warsaw.

It looks as if the fact that sympathetic words were found during Genscher's visit to Poland is due to a realisation that, following an assessment of all the circumstances, the Federal Republic of Germany can hardly — and does not want to be — classified as Poland's worst enemy.

There has been an improvement in East-West relations. The past has often shown that German-Polish relations are automatically influenced by the general state of East-West relations.

The former, of course, can also benefit from a favourable development of the latter.

At the moment the spirits are so high that Poland's leaders apparently failed to notice the recent extension of Franco-German military cooperation, which has caused such concern in many East Bloc countries.

The improvement in the general climate, however, is not solely due to a warming of relations between Washington and Moscow.

It is also the product of growing cooperation between states on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

A new defence strategy takes shape

The Soviet-American INF treaty might be a welcome development but it pulls the rug out from under the West's basic thinking on defence.

New ideas are needed now more than ever. Washington is taking the new reality seriously. American experts have come up with a new strategy called "discriminate defense." This is a graduated, prudent deterrent based on attacking selected sites in a limited war.

The concept is the result of an inter-party study in which major roles were played by Fred C. Ikle, under secretary at the Washington Defense Department, and Albert Wohlstetter, the grand old man of strategic thinking. Wohlstetter is head of the European-American Institute for Strategic Studies in Los Angeles.

Former National Security Adviser Brezhnev and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger were joined on the panel by former generals and diplomats from both the Republican and Democratic persuasions.

Their report will be followed in a few months by eight more intensive individual studies on the topic of security.

The experts believe that the USA and the Western Alliance has been concentrating too much on the wrong kind of military strategy.

They say Nato saw the greatest danger in a massive conventional attack by Warsaw Pact forces or, instead, a nuclear attack which would lead to the absolute destruction of both sides.

They also say the West also made the mistake of adopting the basic concept of using all kinds of atomic weapons in a more or less automatic escalation to the strategic level.

The study says the future belongs to "smart weapons." These were suitable within the framework of a cleverly controlled political strategy for selective attacks.

This also happened to be the strategy of the Soviet Union. They could use them to divide the allied forces and induce individual member states to neglect their defensive responsibilities.

The report tolls the end of the all-or-nothing use of the nuclear deterrent, which up until the Washington summit, had been the recipe for peace in Europe.

The experts say the strategy was only a bluff. In reality nobody would have allowed a peripheral Soviet attack on the north or south-west flanks of Nato to escalate into a global war.

Both sides can now see through this strategy. Since such a bluff is transparent, the experts say it only encourages the enemy to attack selective targets.

And indeed even President Reagan himself looks upon the concept of mutual destruction as nothing more than a suicide pact. As an alternative, the study group stresses the attractiveness of limited attacks on specific targets on enemy territory.

With modern technology it's now possible to have better control of such graduated attacks without risking an armageddon.

The Americans and the Soviets have built their command and operation centres so securely they would survive nuclear attacks.

The flexibility of selective attacks would also enable Nato to rely on new conventional precision weapons, which could take over the tasks of nuclear weapons.

The study also stresses that the USA, in

a world which is becoming multipolar, will have to prepare itself for possible dangers in the Third World.

There is always the possibility that some kind of "low intensity" crisis could escalate there and that the Soviet Union could be drawn into it.

The Soviets would always want to keep control of events to make sure that they did not get out of hand. In this way they would keep the political and military risk to a minimum.

The Americans include terrorist attacks such as sabotage in their definition of low-intensity crisis. They are reckoning with attacks on installations. This calls for an arsenal of graded weapons in proper relation to gravity of the deed.

They would also like to see the delivery of accurate weapons to opponents of Soviet-supported regimes such as in Afghanistan or Nicaragua.

The study expects the French and the British in particular to take over part of Europe's nuclear defence and to have troops on the alert for sudden missions outside Nato. Admittedly the Americans see the threat from the Third World as a case in which the allied forces might in doubt refuse the USA the use of their bases or air space.

The Europeans see that the new thinking is moving towards limited conflicts. This diminishes the credibility of old concept of the automatic linking up with the strategic nuclear arsenal of the USA.

The institute says a comprehensive, effective economic boycott of South Africa is possible. It would be capable of bringing the apartheid regime to its knees.

The conference also discussed the attitude of blacks themselves to sanctions. But there was no clarity.

The conference is dependent on opinion polls. But these can be easily manipulated. The results differ according to how questions are put.

If blacks are asked if they are in favour of sanctions the majority answer yes. If they are asked if they should put jobs at risk the majority say no. To make matters more complicated the leading black organisations are now disunited.

It's true that the confederation of trade unions COSATU at its last congress called for an international boycott. But precisely because of that they have ended up in a crisis of identity and legitimacy.

Even if nobody here believes that sanctions would not have negative effects on blacks, there are still those who are in favour. They believe that blacks have suffered so much that they are prepared to suffer even more. They say only a small number would become poorer.

If rumours are confirmed, this would mean that although the Federal Republic of Germany may have the safest reactors in the world its nuclear power industry managers represent an international security risk.

The fact that West German Ministers reacted so promptly on the mere suspicion of such a possibility might some day be held in their favour.

The international nuclear community recalls only too well the negotiations which preceded the signing of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Of the "nuclear have-nots", those countries which did not possess nuclear weapons, did not want them or which other countries felt should not have them, the Federal Republic of Germany was among the most obstreperous.

Bonn complained that the planned treaty was an instrument restricting technological progress in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Influential spokesmen from the CDU and CSU spoke of a "Super-Versailles", via which the nuclear powers, especially the major powers, wanted to contain the threat of economic competition of smaller countries in the nuclear field.

Genscher benefited from this new situation during his visit and the Polish side benefited from the fact that Bonn's Foreign Minister did not have to attend quite as many rituals dictated by domestic policy considerations.

This in turn was a result of the visit to Moscow by Bavaria Premier Franz-Josef Strauss (CSU), which seemed to relax the CDU/CSU stance on Ostpolitik.

Although problems cannot be re-

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

the old tactic of massive nuclear reprisal. Even President Mitterrand recently said as much. Many are retreating stronger than ever from the stage of a manageable war.

The study is fascinating. It shows us how the Americans think about strategy. But it raises many questions which cannot be quickly answered.

An expert from the Arnold-Bergstrasser-Institut said the alleged particular dependency of South Africa on leading industrial nations was fiction. He said the theme of sanctions has become blurred.

One reason for the blurriness of discussions is the unpredictable nature of sanctions. Particularly in a policy of selective petty annoyance, which more often than not has too often been the case.

Even in the USA, the report is not guaranteed of meeting any kind of broad agreement. For example the study rejects disarmament for the purpose of demonstrating international good will. It is also not in keeping with President Reagan's dream of a nuclear free world. And with regard to liberals, they do not like the proposed brand of rumbling interventionism.

One thing is certain. Thinking about 1988 strategy has begun. The Europeans cannot afford to run down American studies. Instead they will have to get on with coming up with their own if they want to preserve their historical importance.

Thomas Kießlinger
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
Bonn, 15 January 1987)

The study also stresses that the USA, in

Sanctions against South Africa: views still as split as ever

Sanctions against the South African government could be made to work, says a controversial report by a Protestant church group. It says that sanctions could be made to lower the standards of the whites and make them realize that they could not have both apartheid and an integrated place in the world economy. But the issue remains as highly disputed as ever, as Barbara von Ow reports for the Munich daily, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

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THE LAW

Tough security precautions as Hamadi kidnap hearing gets underway

The trial of Abbas Hamadi has opened in Düsseldorf. The public prosecutor has accused Hamadi, a Lebanese with West German citizenship, of coercion against the West German government, of taking hostages and of offences against the laws covering explosives.

According to the charge Hamadi was involved in the kidnapping of two German citizens in Beirut, Rudolf Cordes and Alfred Schmidt. They were taken hostage to prevent the extradition of Abbas Hamadi's brother, Mohammed, to the United States.

Mohammed Hamadi, 23, is accused of having taken part in the June 1985 hijacking of a TWA aircraft from Heiruit that was flown to Rome via Athens. A US marine, Robert Stethem, was murdered in this hijacking, allegedly by Mohammed Hamadi.

Dozens of journalists from West Germany and abroad, from France, Britain and the US, turned up for the opening of the trial. It is expected that it will continue until 10 February.

Wide-ranging security measures have been applied to the courtroom, a former gym hall in police barracks. The security controls were stiff. People were body-searched before being admitted.

The gym hall was used for the terrorist trials of the 1970s, when it was rebuilt without windows, with steel doors and video-supervision. On 13 January last year Mohammed Hamadi was ar-

rested in Frankfurt when he arrived on a flight from Beirut — not because a warrant was out for his arrest but because liquid explosives were concealed in wine bottles found in his baggage.

He was accompanied by his brother, Abbas, now 29, who was to carry the explosives through the airport controls in his hand luggage, uncheck, unnoticed.

German officials quickly realised that a big fish had been accidentally caught in their nets.

The US swiftly put in a request to the Federal Republic government to have Mohammed Hamadi extradited. The Americans wanted to put him before an American court to face charges over the past year.

At times businessman Rnshid Mahruqi, a Lebanese living in Fürth, has acted as a mediator. He is to appear in court as a witness in the course of the trial.

Alfred Schmidt, the hostage who was released on 7 September last year, has been invited to appear before the court as a witness. He is in good health although obviously aged.

On 24 June last year the Federal Republic government rejected the extradition demand from the US, despite massive pressure being applied by Washington.

The next day, on 17 January, the head of the Beirut branch of Hoechst AG, Rudolf Cordes, aged 54, was kidnapped, and four days later Siemens

technician in Beirut, Alfred Schmidt. The kidnappers not only demanded that Mohammed Hamadi should not be extradited to the US, but be exchanged for a trial, but here that is not possible.

He pointed out that the West German government had no influence on the course of justice, not even in this trial.

In a break in the proceedings he said bitterly: "How can I properly conduct a defence? If I denounce the investigation methods of the public prosecutor's office then they will say in Beirut: you are not a state under the rule of law and Cordes will be in trouble."

In the meantime the Bonn government has issued a warning about travelling to the Lebanon. German citizens are at present in danger there.

The dramatic accompanying circumstances and the international dimensions of this trial stand in direct contrast to the mundane atmosphere in the courtroom. Most of the time the proceedings are relaxed. A chatty tone prevails.

The accused contributes to this to a considerable extent. He is polite and friendly, sometimes almost obsequious.

He is always in a good mood and occasionally glances mischievously at a witness. Sometimes he makes a joke with his guards, standing to his left and right, so that all three have to laugh heartily.

Abbas Hamadi says nothing about the charges made against him. He denies having taken part in anything and appeals to the kidnappers: "In the name of mankind free Herr Cordes immediately."

The accused's participation in the kidnapping can be only proved, if at all, through circumstantial evidence. Over the next few weeks the court will hear evidence from 69 witnesses and four experts.

Rudolf Cordes is still being held by his captors, who are suspected of being members of the radical Shi'ite 'Hisbollah' movement, 'the Party of God.'

The Hamadi family has the main say in this group. One brother of the Hamadi family of ten sons and daughters, has been killed in Beirut, another is security chief of 'Hisbollah' and leader of its military operations.

Modestly he said: "One hopes so, and went on to tell that he came to West Germany nine years ago seeking asylum, at first to Berlin then to the Saar."

When his application for asylum was rejected he married a 14-year-old girl, named in court as Maria M. He said he married her because he loved her.

In October 1984 he was given German citizenship and shortly afterwards his daughter was born. He lived with his wife and child in Merzig in the Saar and worked as a welder with a steel construction firm.

He said that he had not been much interested in either religion or politics. One of Abbas Hamadi's friends said in the witness stand that "he only wanted to live contentedly."

About two years ago he got to know a young Lebanese girl. He left his wife on her account. Three months ago they were divorced.

In the witness stand his ex-wife said that they were still friends. As she spoke, they looked at each other and smiled.

No, Frau Hamadi said, her husband was not religious. During the whole time they were married he had, only once gone back to the Lebanon. Hisbollah? "No, I can't imagine that."

What did she think when her husband was arrested? "I was shocked. I did not believe him capable of that."

Abbas Hamadi only smiled.

He pointed out to the kidnappers in Lebanon that "the trial was independent

DIE ZEIT

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■ THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Turkey remains confident it will be admitted within seven years

Turkey's Foreign Ministry experts think the nation's application for membership of the European Community will be accepted in six or, at the most, seven years.

Application was made last year. Brussels knew that an application was on the cards, but was still not prepared for it when it actually came.

A Community official said that it was unlikely that the application would be accepted before the turn of the century — and only then if significant changes in the economic and political structure of the country had taken place. But Turkish Foreign Office experts are sticking with six or seven years.

The Prime Minister, Turgut Ozal, said he had given priority to foreign policy by linking up with the rest of Europe. He believes membership "will take place sooner than most people believe."

Even Turkish President Kenan Evren stressed the urgency of the application. He said it was not acceptable to shut his country out from the economic and political integration of Europe.

Turkey was after all a partner in Nato and was making a major contribution to her defence. He promised that his land would contribute new political, economic and cultural dimensions.

And it's precisely these new dimensions which the 12 member states are afraid of. West Germany in particular is touchy on the question of Turkish migrant workers. If Turkey is really serious about membership, it will have to make economic changes.

Turkey's gross national product per head is \$1,220. This is well below that of Portugal, the EEC's poorest member. Experts with the job of evaluating the application have their work cut out for them.

For one thing, the country's economy is in a mess. The Turkish lira has an inflation rate of 50 per cent. The official unemployment figure is 15 per cent — in reality it's more than 30.

The national debt is \$33bn, which is more than 50 per cent of the GNP.

To scare the EEC and particularly Germany even more, the population of 52 million is growing at an alarming rate. At the turn of the century it will be over 70 million. This means that it is unlikely that the job market or the economy will improve in the near future.

Apart from economic considerations, there are other hurdles blocking membership.

Continued from page 1

approach. Furthermore, it rejects existing Nato resolutions. The Bonn government helped shape declining that the limitation of both alliances to a mere defensive capacity and the elimination of the ability of an extensive offensive should be the objectives of talks with the East on the redefinition of conventional forces.

Kohl took a sceptical view of the possibility of foreign policy cooperation between the various Bundestag parties.

The chances of success can only be ascertained via direct talks with the Opposition, which the Chancellor has consistently avoided so far.

In view of the objectives outlined by the Chancellor cooperation in this field is more urgent than ever before.

Wolfgang Bell

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 12 January 1988)

Frankfurter Rundschau

In 1982 the military dictatorship introduced a constitution which has many paragraphs unacceptable to Brussels. The Ankara government is trying to play down the significance of this.

But lawyers say that the constitution is "a mountain of complex questions." A solution would take up to a decade and lead to serious conflicts of one kind or another.

Paragraph six would have to be changed. It rules out the relinquishing of either total or partial control of sovereignty. In itself it is a technical problem which should not be too difficult to solve.

The question is what to do with the others? There are many provisions in the general basic law and in the Turkish criminal law which run contrary to the spirit of the Treaty of Rome. The following are points of legal contention:

- Trade unions, associations and clubs are forbidden to develop political activities or have connections with political parties.

- The prohibition on members of certain groups such as students, civil servants and soldiers from becoming members of a trade union.

- Turkish passport laws which allow the authorities to turn down Turkish citizens' passport applications. This is in effect a denial of exit permits. About

380,000 people have been refused passports, mainly for political reasons.

- Laws which restrict press freedom, the right to strike or demonstrate.

Some Turkish lawyers say that in order to get membership, paragraphs 141, 142 and 163 of the criminal law will have to be modified. These punish Communist propaganda, Islamic fundamentalism and neo-Fascist activities.

These laws have been implemented against Haydar Kutlu and Nahit Saroglou. Both are members of the Communist party. They were arrested on returning from 17 years exile in East Germany. They are now facing the death penalty.

The EEC will most certainly take a dim view of a number of ordinances on the law books. The most offensive are the secret ordinances 6/38/1 which became law in November 1964. These ordinances govern the rights of Greeks or people of Greek descent.

They are prohibited from selling their houses or land or even inheriting. Earnings from rent or leasing have to be put into blocked accounts.

Apart from some fundamentalist groups and some left-wing and right-wing groups, all parties favour membership. But since the application government opposition parties have become annoyed at Bonn's reaction.

The Germans are evaluating the application from the point of view of the financial and economic opportunities or problems which it might mean.

The Turkish opposition knows that membership would have economic benefits. But its interest is primarily in the liberalisation of society which would it bring about.

■ FINANCE

That's really put the Birilic whirligig among the medium-sized pigeons

The most controversial problem facing the Turks is how its minorities. And this does not mean the few thousand Greeks but also the Kurds.

There are around nine million Kurds in south-west Anatolia. The Turks refuse to give them the minority status which they're entitled to under international law.

This practice is in keeping with the dogma of Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish Republic. He did not recognize the existence of ethnic groups. All the people within the borders were Turkish.

Brussels has no evidence of Ankara's readiness to recognise the Kurdish language or their traditional customs.

Last autumn, President Richard von Weizsäcker received the Ataturk peace prize. He referred tactfully but unequivocally to his hosts problems with minorities.

Thousands of shareholders, creditors, suppliers as well as employees who have lost money and more as a result of surprise bankruptcies would undoubtedly support this view.

The construction company Beton und Montierbau (Bum), the Gerling bank Heslau, Esch's construction machinery holding company IBH and the Otto-Wolff subsidiary PBH Wiesenhüttel, which is currently threatened by bankruptcy, all have one thing in common: the unqualified seal of approval was issued for all their accounts by an auditor.

The much sought-after auditor's certificates are only qualified or refused in a few cases.

Does this mean that all the businesses which receive the official "seal of approval" are economically sound? Far from it.

On the contrary, they feel misunderstood by the general public.

The auditor's task is to ascertain whether the annual accounts figures are right or wrong, not whether they are good or bad," said Gerhard Grässle, a departmental head at the Institute of Auditors (IDW), to which 90 per cent of the roughly 6,000 members of this profession belong.

One example illustrates the implications of this differentiation.

Up until the composition proceedings an auditor's certificate was issued for every balance sheet presented by AEG.

They emphasise that they are neither detectives nor the "guardian angels of the shareholders".

Their signature merely confirms that the figures presented in a firm's accounts comply with legal stipulations.

Many critics feel that the criteria for the issuing of an auditor's certificate should be tightened.

They complain about dubious discretionary powers and lack of demarcation between the control and advisory aspects of the auditor's task.

Each year company accountants, etc., about evaluating their company's performance during the past two months in terms of its annual accounts or its profit and loss statements.

The legal stipulations, which are fortunately much more precisely defined in the amended law, exempted any liabilities in the field of pension commitments from legal punishment.

The AEG accounts, therefore, were right but not good.

According to the IDW the auditor's certificate should by no means be viewed as a "judgement on the economic situation of the firm" and management.

The IDW does not therefore share the opinion of university professor Adolf Möller that compulsory auditing can also serve as an "indispensable instrument for the prevention of bankruptcies".

After the auditors moved into the line of fire following the Bum bankruptcy IDW secretary Horst Kaminski adopted the following stance:

"No accounts inspector can expect an auditor's certificate to remove the investment risks of a potential investor or the loan charge-off risk for creditors".

Kaminski stresses, however, that the auditor's certificate does guarantee that the approval given is based on figures which comply with legal stipulations and statutory provisions.

This framework of auditing activity is correct yet restrictive.

The West German Joint Stock Company Law requires that the annual accounts statement provides "as accurate

its price," says Hannes Streim, professor for accounting and public administration at the university of Trier.

Streim provocatively claims that the auditor's seal of approval is of little value if the provisions which serve as a yardstick for the issuing of this approval are themselves inadequate.

The auditor concentrates on ensuring that the appraisal is made within the framework of assessment provisions.

Professor Streim's sharp criticism is not so much levelled against the way auditors view their profession as against the inadequate legal foundations.

He is particularly critical of the leeway for various forms of accounting provided for by the legislation in this field.

He calls for an elimination of the possibility of choosing between straight-line depreciation or reducing-balance depreciation.

Streim would also like to see greater clarity on whether the value of an acquired enterprise has to be capitalised and how a premium is to be dealt with.

He would like to see more refusal of auditor's certificates or more certificates with qualifying remarks, as in the USA.

The fact that this is a more frequent occurrence in the USA does not mean that the companies there are less sound.

American auditors are often faced by the legal action of creditors who feel deceived by the auditor's evaluation of the financial situation of a given company.

This touches on a sore point.

The big auditing societies, ranging from the Deutsche Treuhand society and the Treuhand, whose business volumes exceed DM10tn, to the US turnover billion Arthur Andersen or Peat, Marwick, Mitchell, which are extremely active on the German market, have long since become successful consultancy enterprises, advising their clients on company acquisitions, tax problems and reorganisation.

These "sidelines" often account for more revenue than auditing activities.

This lucrative side-by-side is a thorn in the flesh of many critics.

Streim supports Flämig by adding that "the legislator should have drawn a clearer distinction".

Streim is concerned that an auditing company may have qualms about auditing accounts for a firm it perhaps previously advised on a takeover bid.

Dieter Pfefferer, the deputy secretary of the Auditors Association, dismissed such doubts as "nonsense".

He feels that the circumstances under which auditing should not be allowed (for example, when the same company helped compile the accounts) are satisfactorily outlined in Section 319 of the Commercial Code.

The legal provisions only cast doubt about the auditor's ability to remain independent if the auditing company or auditor received "over half of their total revenue during the past five years" from the client in question.

One top manager in the auditing business feels that the criterion for possible dependence is too broad.

According to Gross individual clients generally account for five to six percent of an auditing company or auditor's turnover.

The auditing branch itself is not keen on dropping the possibility of working in two fields. As consultants, one argues

Continued on page 8

first-class training and strict professional regulations guarantee respect for the auditors they cannot spare them sceptical criticism.

"A balance sheet approved by an auditor is a necessary precondition, but by no means an adequate condition for the granting of loans," one of Frankfurt's big banks pointed out.

The banks automatically gather more updated information on performance indicators and branch comparisons before lending money.

Furthermore, cases have been confirmed of auditor's certificates granted as a favour.

In the case of the joint stock company the supervisory board suggests which auditors should be chosen at the annual general meeting.

In 1983 Professor Christian Flämig, who taught tax law at the university of Marburg at the time, expressed the opinion in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland* that the "shareholders of industry" (a definition used by Eugen Schmalenbach) had unfortunately "become advisers and friends of the supervisory boards they inspect out of consideration for the continuity of their auditing contracts".

Flämig, who now works for the Darmstadt-based chemicals group Merck, merely voiced the view expressed by the Federal Supreme Court, which stated in a court decision in March 1975 that auditors have the task of "representing the economic interests of certain groups of industry" and that "doubts in personal independence" rule out a partnership with a notary.

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Continued on page 8

■ INDUSTRY

Diversification begins to change the face of the old coal-and-steel Ruhr

In the 1950s, every third worker in the Ruhr was employed in coal or steel. Now it is every eighth. Steel is now diversifying to meet the restructuring needs of the late 20th century. Steel makers are moving into steel products and even further afield: into telescopes, radio systems, various fields of technology, even insurance. In this article, Paul Bellinghausen looks at the changes for *Rheinische Merkur/Christ und Welt*.

For a long time, steel industry managers were leaders in progress. The steelworks in the Ruhr were the most productive in Europe.

If they are now endangered, the only explanation is that competing industries in other European Community countries are kept alive by heavy subsidies.

Steel miners drew their conclusions from this distortion of competition a long time ago. They have moved into manufacturing — usually by buying up other firms — and into sectors of industry unrelated to steel, shedding their mono-structure in the process.

They do not talk all that much about what they are doing. Few people know, for instance, that Hoesch of Dortmund operates the oldest German software organisation — subsidiary Mathematischer Beratungs- und Programmierservice, or mbp.

This subsidiary, one of the largest software and systems organisations in the Federal Republic, has recently extended its activities into telecommunications.

Specialists at mbp were involved in project management in the development of the SpaceLab for the Space Shuttle.

It is not commonly known that Hoesch is involved, through subsidiaries and shareholdings in companies, in the manufacture of steel kegs, office and warehousing buildings constructed of steel, roof windows for private housing, escalators and excavators.

Few also know that this steel company is involved in industrial and private insurance.

Then, who knows that Hoesch is a leading international manufacturer of motor vehicle suspension units?

What is true of Hoesch is generally true of all steel companies in the Ruhr. None are abandoning steel, but con-

tinuing on promising steel products, at the same time turning away from a mono-structure and diversifying.

Domestically Hoesch steel sales now account for only 40 per cent of turnover.

Thyssen, totally identified with steel, has moved into new fields of activity. The concern's new activities are concentrated in Thyssen Industrie, based in Essen, and are gaining in importance.

In the 1950s every third worker in the Ruhr was employed in the coal and steel industries; now it is every eighth and the tendency is downwards.

In turnover terms iron and steel producing industries take third place in the state, after chemicals and engineering. Mining has eighth place.

In terms of numbers employed steel is in fifth place, after engineering, chemicals, electrical engineering and mining.

Not enough attention has yet been paid to office equipment and data-processing, precision engineering and optics.

In the lengthy discussions about coal and steel oil too easily it is overlooked that North Rhine-Westphalia is the most important centre for mechanical engineering in the Federal Republic and is among the leaders, along with Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, in the electrical engineering industry.

The mix of industries in North Rhine-Westphalia may not be ideal, but it is not so catastrophic as critics outside the state would have it.

The situation would be better were it not that for a long time there has been an unholy alliance between the coal-and-steel industries, the unions (the mining union and the engineering union) and the state government that has hampered the settlement of new industries into the state.

But those times are past. The state now has an excellent infrastructure with an extensive network of road, rail and inland waterway connections.

An important feature for the future is the university education available in the state. There are more scientists in North Rhine-Westphalia now than there were twenty years ago. The increasing level of academic training could be an important motivating force for technical and economic changes in the state.

For twenty years the Düsseldorf government has rejected the idea that the loss of jobs in the state was the consequence of modern technology.

Paul Bellinghausen
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
Bonn, 8 January 1988)

Men like the state's Economic Affairs Minister Reimut Jochimsen have now come out strongly for more innovation, because this will create or retain workplaces. That's how the times have changed.

By innovation will not bring about full employment on the Rhine and in the Ruhr. The association of North Rhine-Westphalia chambers of commerce made an analysis along these lines in 1985:

The association did not go along with the idea that the introduction of more innovation in all sectors would put the state's industry, in the long term, in a technically-leading position and so present North Rhine-Westphalia with a way out of its present difficulties.

The influence of such a course would only have its effect for a limited period of time. The competition would always accelerate efforts to exceed the lead achieved or create a lead in other sectors.

The association does not want this to be taken as an argument against innovation, vital in many sectors of the state's industry but in itself not enough.

This study pointed out that North Rhine-Westphalia's poor showing in development was linked to its susceptibility to competition, its considerable dependence on international trade and the price sensitivity of many products in North Rhine-Westphalia's dominant sectors — coal, steel and chemical raw materials.

If one wants to stop the loss of jobs in manufacturing industry priority must be given to economic policies aimed at reducing costs, especially wage costs. It must not be forgotten that wage levels in North Rhine-Westphalia are well above the national average.

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More specifically, real wage increases (wage increases minus inflation) must remain under productivity growth until the employment position allows higher wage increases again.

To make this palatable to workers in North Rhine-Westphalia their restraint in wage demands could be compensated for by increased participation in new company share issues.

It would obviously be difficult to make clear to a man such as the IG Metall leader Franz Stelkühler that Daimler-Benz wages in Baden-Württemberg are not suitable for North Rhine-Westphalia.

Today we are surrounded by space technology. Television viewers see weather reports everyday transmitted by our European weather satellite.

Damaged environments can be analysed by other satellites in outer space. People can telephone Hong Kong from New York with a good clear connection. And if Boris Becker is playing in a distant country then a satellite of one kind or another will pass the signal onto German television.

Esa's unmanned space and satellite technology programme has been run successfully. It has met with almost universal support. Even the Greens' support further development of the Ariane launcher-rocket.

So how does one explain the coalition of conservatives, Social Democrats, Greens and firms not directly involved in the programme, which have sprouted up?

Apart from the costs, critics say the venture is unnecessary. One could reach the same results with unmanned space ships. They also say the launch is dangerous, diverts funds from other research and that the cost of the enterprise is out of proportion to its value.

Experts reckon that inflation will drive costs up to DM100bn. West Germany intends to have a 2.8 per cent

■ SPACE RESEARCH

Europe treads warily into a future as the critics become less strident



The European Space Agency has decided on an ambitious manned space programme which will form an important part of a joint European operation to put researcher-astronauts into space. But it has run into its fair share of criticism. Critics say the costs outweigh the benefits.

At issue is an estimated DM66bn which the Germans reckon they will have to contribute up to the end of the century. About DM30bn would go on three European space projects: the Hermes space shuttle, the Columbus space station and the Ariane-5 launcher rocket.

Hermes is a French designed mini-shuttle which is being offered to Esa as an addition to the Ariane 5 rocket which would launch it.

Hermes is the key to Europe's future role in space. The shuttle will be 49.2 ft long and have a wingspan of 32.8ft. It will carry a payload of about three tonnes and have an ejection capsule that the crew of three will use in emergencies.

None of the individual nations could afford to match the space budgets of the Americans or Russians. The agency gives Europeans the chance to compete and to develop solidarity.

Esa's informality enables it to reach quick and uncomplicated decisions. Unlike the EEC, it's not necessary to have unanimity. So long drawn out negotiations are avoided.

The only compulsory programme is the basic scientific research one. The nations base their contributions on their gross national product.

Participation in other developments is voluntary. Only whoever takes part has a say. The costs are carried in relation to nation's participation.

Bonn financed 50 per cent of its SpaceLab in this way. Whereas Paris put up the lion's share of costs for the development and construction of the Ariane launcher-rocket.

The palette of activities ranges from space research to news and weather reports and from the launcher programme to the manned flights.

Esa has had its fair share of success.

holding. Therefore if inflation hits, it will end up spending DM20bn more than originally planned.

On the other hand supporters of an independent European system say that apart from the immediate practical value for numerous areas of research, the mission is politically necessary if Europeans want to close the technological gap with the Americans and the Japanese.

If Europe wants to be competitive it has to make progress in fields such as the research of crystals, pharmaceuticals, photography and electronics. Weightlessness is an ideal environment for this.

Esa coordinates European participation in space. But it is not a concerted undertaking like the EEC. Instead it's an informal research and development organisation made up of 13 states which include Belgium, France, Denmark, West Germany, Ireland, Italy, Holland, Spain, Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Norway. Finland is an associate member. Conadra is taking part on a cooperative basis.

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Esa has had its fair share of success.

In 1986 it managed to put 14 satellites into orbit. Giotto was one of their most spectacular successes. On 13 March 1986 Giotto observed Halley's comet from a distance of 600 km and sent back outstanding pictures.

The development and construction of the European Spacelab, which was constructed for American space-flights, was also a great success. In 1983 Esa put the first Spacelab enterprise, successfully into space with the German astronaut Ulf Merbold.

Esa is developing a space telescope called Ulysses. The Americans and the Europeans want to station a telescope in space which will enable more research on the sun and see deeper into the unknown space.

The agency plans to station a data relay station as part of its space infrastructure programme. It will relay the telecommand signals to and from future space stations and low orbiting satellites.

This programme and Ariane, its French built rocket, have given Esa a lot of success. The advantages of the Europeans' flexibility can be seen in this venture.

Esa is opening up steadily to more commercial possibilities in space alongside the purely scientific ones.

Ariane space, the European launcher-rocket company, was founded on a commercial basis as a kind of charter company for satellites.

Since the Challenger disaster, Europeans have practically no competitors at the moment. Ariane 3 is the only western rocket which can carry heavy commercial satellites.

Ariane's order book is now full with 50 contracts. A launch costs between DM500m and DM100m. This is about 20 per cent more expensive than her Russian or Chinese competitors.

The European rocket company can make about DM5bn out of this monopoly in the next five years.

But the Europeans don't want to let it rest there. Their space budget is still very modest in comparison to America's or Russia's.

In 1985 the Americans had a budget of DM66bn. Europe has to make do with the same amount up to the end of the century.

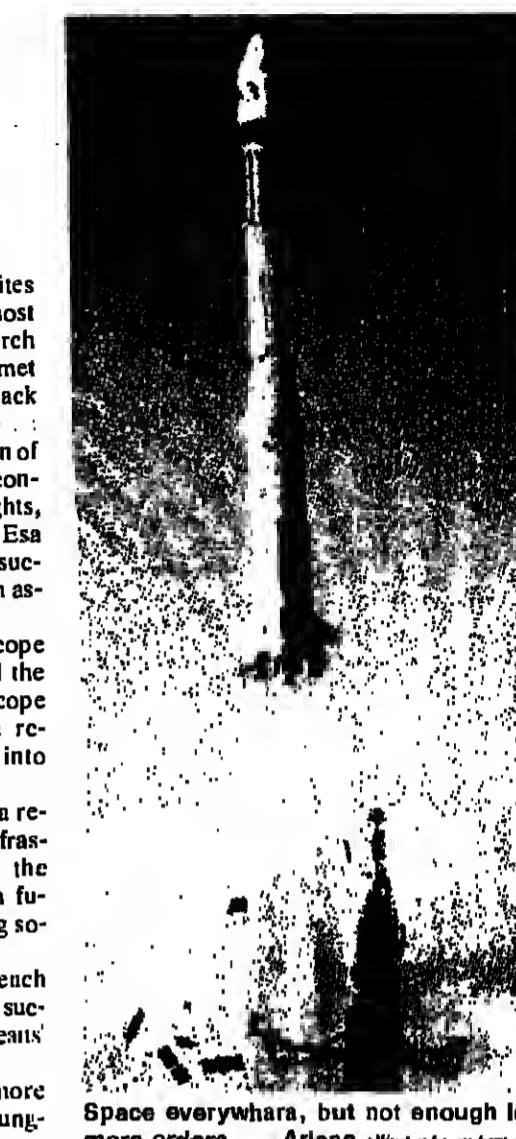
What other explanation is there for the fact that over 70 per cent of the roughly 15,000 to 20,000 limited liability companies now covered by the new accounting guidelines law already employ auditors anyway.

Above all, the managers of distant parent or group companies feel that auditing is well worth the investment in order to gain a reliable insight into the activities of their subsidiaries.

"This could strengthen the independence of our employees," he said, indirectly suggesting that auditors might be more critical if they were not permanently bothered by their fear of losing a follow-up contract.

"Although Stein accepted the fact that frequent changing of clients may lead to a loss of competence he nevertheless called for a periodic change to other companies."

Experts reckon that inflation will drive costs up to DM100bn. West Germany intends to have a 2.8 per cent



Space everywhere, but not enough for more orders... Ariane (Photo: Sven Simon)

century. The European space travel organisation has a budget of DM3b. This includes the programmes which Esa is carrying out for other organisations.

Despite empty till the Esa research ministers have been able to agree on the programme. They have admittedly made cut backs on its proposed long term space programme. Scientists have to sink costs by 15 to 20 per cent.

But at the same time the ministers made the politically important decision to risk starting the programme for manned missions. By doing this they voted for European independence in space and technology.

The supporters of manned missions, who are in all the political parties, say that Hermes and Columbus make sense.

Participation would be in keeping with the logic of European space policies, which wants greater autonomy from America.

If the Americans were to use the Columbus space station for military purposes, the Europeans would drop out of the project.

The statutes of Esa rule out military activity. If Europe wants to rescue its investment and to have Columbus as an independent unit in space, it will need a transporter like Hermes.

The Americans and Europeans are negotiating about the rights and possibilities of Europeans should they participate. The Europeans will make a final decision about their participation in the Columbus programme when the negotiations are over.

Whereas Esa is committed to building the large Ariane 5 rocket, it's keeping open the possibility of dropping out in the Hermes and Columbus projects.

In the Hague, Esa agreed to participate in the programmes first three years of development. Only when the chances of success of participation are calculable will there be a final decision on whether the countdown goes on.

Peter Ziller
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 9 January 1988)
Thomas Gack
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 5 January 1988)

■ DRAMA

Earning marks towards Abitur and having a good time as well

Drama courses are offered in Berlin and Hamburg and pupils can gain marks for the Abitur (university entrance examination) in drama courses. Drama is included in the curriculum in Bavaria. In the Rhineland-Palatinate pupils cannot make up poor marks in one subject by good marks in drama. Even if they put on a play and rehearse until ten in the evening and build sets they still have to do tests and written work.

She looked about her. Her accusing cries were shrill and bloodcurdling as she threw herself to the ground sobbing.

"Yes, I am both, Shui Ta and Shen Te. Your former command, to do good and live on, tore me in half as if by lightning."

Norbert Kiefer, who is directing the acting, scratched his head, raised his eyebrows, looked at his colleague, Ilse-Marie Peris, and shook his head and said: "No, Brigitte, less theatrical, do not express the pain so much, and if you throw yourself to the ground don't do it like a Chinese kowtow. Let's do the last scene again."

Everything is chaotic; notebooks, books and magazines are scattered all over the green metal table. In between the coffee machine and plastic cups there are potato chips, a crumpled hat and a pair of running shoes. A wheel-

chair (used later for a descent of the Brecht gods) stands in the way.

No-one present smokes but nevertheless a washing basket is full of cigarette and cigar packets, props for a small tobacco shop in Sezuan.

Rehearsals are underway for Brecht's *The Good Woman of Sezuan* in hut not far from the school. There are schoolchildren on stage.

The rehearsals began at one, when school had finished. It is now almost five in the afternoon.

There is again much talk about German school drama. There were 204 groups taking part in "Theaterreffen der Jugend '87." No place is too small, no stage too tiny, no experiment impossible among school groups.

Schoolboys and girls dare to take on the heavy stuff and they have no respect for the big names.

Norbert Kiefer and Ilse-Marie Peris, drama teachers at the Eduard Spranger Gymnasium (high school) in Landau, have learned that they will have a go at anything from Schiller's "Wallenstein" to Rolf Hochhuth's "The Physicians."

Both have been involved in school drama for ten years and have brought it up to a high level. They have put in a lot of work and involvement to reach the guideline targets for school drama that have been drawn up, by getting people to work together, creativity and a receptivity to experience.

School drama is a good antidote to the stress of school studies. Schoolboys and girls who have taken part in school drama are more receptive, more confident and active in classroom work.

Herr Kiefer said: "It is not a question of creating stars, but of discovering and developing abilities among schoolchildren that normally would lie fallow."

The two drama teachers do not demand amateur theatre with studied roles where young actors or actresses jump around and declaim just to suit themselves. They want creativity with a bent towards perfection, letting off steam with discipline.

Most federal states have regular drama get-togethers. There are a variety of regional festivals, particularly in the heavily-populated areas.

In secondary schools, that are wooing the declining number of children of school age, school drama is no longer a popular activity but an important aspect of an attractive school image.

Schoolgirl Steffi expressed it in this way: "What we have to swot at in German lessons is fun on the stage."

Steffi is an old theatre-hand. She has played Shakespeare and Chekhov, Max Frisch and now Shui Ta in the Brecht play.

"I used to be shy in school," she said, "then I was given the part of Puck in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream.' Since then I have gained a lot in confidence."

Heike, another schoolgirl, had the same experience. She said: "I'm no longer worried about expressing myself in front of other people. Acting has made me confident and helped me to go out and meet people."

School drama is theatre without season tickets, without a premiere, without dinner jackets, not so perfect but nevertheless just as exciting as "real" theatre.

The starting point is the selection of the play. Three were considered: Eugène Ionesco's *The Rhinoceros*, Max Frisch's *The Chinese Wall* and even Brecht.

Norbert Kiefer said: "After the entertainment of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' we looked for a contrast. We discussed the matter and took a democratic vote. The majority came out for 'The Good Woman.' There are also a lot of roles in this play."

The most difficult aspect of school drama is filling the male roles. "No-one is afraid of learning the parts. We read individual parts, play out various scenes and the roles quickly develop," Norbert Kiefer explained.

Ideal people were available for the Brecht parts, which is a lucky accident. Brigitte plays Shui Ta. She is 18, gentle with the face of a madonna. She pronounces the "s" sibilantly.

Christian is also a find. He plays the water-seller. He is 18, wears grey overalls, his shoulders stoop and he has a sad voice. He carries out-modest pestle equipment on his back.

He not only acts on stage but has recited the Brecht songs to music, arranging them for a four-man band. He constantly changes places between the stage and the piano.

His music is catchy and lively. The song about exploitation, "Eight elephants," is set to rock music. It is a chance for the young audience to clap in time.

And what of Brecht, the social critic? Norbert Kiefer accepts the schoolboys'

and girls' interpretation. He said: "For me the music is sometimes too entertainment-oriented. Many of our schoolboys and girls don't take too much interest in Brecht. The action is the more important for them, not the social intention."

Ilse-Marie Peris added: "Schoolboys and girls have different requirements from us and we don't go into every point in great detail. You don't have to cope with Brecht too much deadly earnestness."

Nevertheless they try to achieve a certain level, and certainly do not turn their production of the play into a superficial farce.

The "catastrophe" is brought to an end with a dress rehearsal in the school entrance hall. The premiere takes place in two days' time. Hardly anything came off as it should have done.

The grandfather had not learned his lines properly, the gods appeared on the stage too soon, evil Shui Te was far too benevolent and the street-lights did not light up because the "stage-hands" were playing around with the make-up.

Some of the few people attending the rehearsal smiled when the sick "unemployed man" accepted a cigar from the well-meaning Shen Te and began to cough at the first puff. A 12-year-old commented: "He can't smoke," and almost laughed himself to death.

It is quite possible that on the first night people will laugh in the wrong places. Ilse-Marie Peris has had that happen. But what is "right" and what is "wrong?"

School drama means experiencing something, enjoying it, having fun, a diversion. There is enough boredom in the routine of ordinary daily lessons.

It is six o'clock on the first night. The play is to be performed in the school foyer. A white sheet marks out the acting area, the stage curtain is hung between two class-room doors. A lecture room serves as wardrobe, make-up room and rest room.

Shen Te, alias Maren, pushes herself behind a school desk. She is playing a typical prostitute, pink stockings, blue pumps, a dark-red top with an artificial fur round her neck. Before she puts on her make-up she begins hiccupping suddenly. The first members of the audience begin to arrive and make their way into the foyer.

Jochen, the gaunt, pale philosopher god who later mixes in the action on earth and comes out of it, said: "Have you blue? I need a coloured eye."

Ruth, in the 12th class, does the make-up. She has to get lip-stick, artificial eyelashes, eye-shadow, powder puffs, mirrors, combs and scissors before the performance. She is helped by Corinna.

She said mischievously: "I help to mess up the people a bit." She enthusiastically began her last job, touching up foreheads wet with perspiration from the excitement. Everyone knows that the show is sold out. That gets everyone on. Everyone hopes the audience will be good and that everything goes off all right.

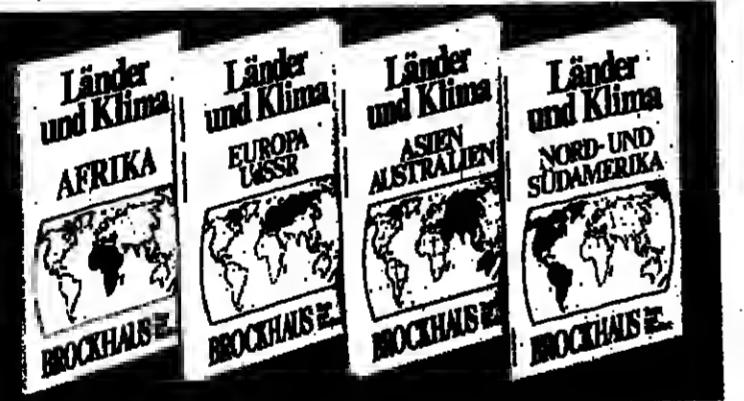
Norbert Kiefer called out: "Are the gods ready? When will Wang be ready?" There is a last look in the mirror, hands are clasped in encouragement. There are gentle notes from the xylophone and the lights are dimmed.

Three and a half hours later all is forgotten, laughs, breathing exercises, the continuous rehearsing, much annoyance and many tears.

The girls curse and the boys bow to the applause. That's a good thing. Applause is like warm summer rain. You have to enjoy it because the next morning its back to lessons.

Paul Schwarz (Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 24 December 1987)

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

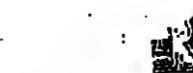
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■ MUSIC

Cosima Wagner, a woman of the world and ruler of the house

When Richard Wagner met Cosima Liszt in October 1853, it was not love at first sight. He only remarked that she was terribly shy. It would have made no difference what he said, Cosima did not understand a word of German.

She soon took care to familiarise herself with the world of *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*, which did not concern itself particularly with the pretty ceremonies of elegant conversation.

Richard's love for Cosima was the greatest scandal that the bourgeois world had known. Cosima had found her role; to serve art, religion made aesthetic, people with aesthetic perceptions, if she gave way, without delay, to her loving instinct, like Isolde, like Brünnhilde, entrusting herself blissfully to him.

She became at the same time a character out of the clever world of martyrs, Franz Liszt's somnambulists, lost in love and seeking redemption.

Gottfried Benn (1886-1956), the son of a Protestant minister, who knowingly fled from the prosaic bourgeois world, shook his head in the face of such carnal spirituality. He said: "Firstly they behaved like pigs and then they wanted to be redeemed."

Cosima, the perfect lady, was full of propriety amid scandal... Cosima and Richard. (Photo: Ullstein)

If she wanted to be Isolde, but was not, she had the last word as Brünnhilde.

She tirelessly arranged his life, arranged his thoughts, she organised, so that what he deemed as a madness for Hans Sachs became a reality, the festival, the Festspielhaus in Bayreuth.

Cosima, the woman of the world, the diplomat, the absolute ruler over minds, ruled Richard as well, for whom she obtained freedom in which he obeyed her.

Wagner was a Bohemian before he knew Cosima, a special Bohemian — he loved luxury. Cosima also lived luxury but not disorder.

Whether Wagner liked it or not he had gradually got used to living with prunes and princesses.

However, his effervescent nature never succeeded in adjusting to this elevated, elegant tone. He always remained what he was, a revolutionary against his century, which he despised far too much, to become in his last years a grand seigneur.

When she had recovered from the blow of his death in Venice, there was only one thing left for her in life: to save his work that she had made possible.

She made Bayreuth what it has remained: a place dedicated to the memory of Richard Wagner.

She subjected conductors, singers and stage designers to her own interests, to produce his works on the stage "authentically," as Wagner himself, possibly, would have liked them produced.

Everyone capitulated before her self-certainty, her self-righteousness, before her grace and discipline, which was proved by an extreme lack of discipline.

She was the first woman to push her way into the male world of directors and she maintained her position there.

She alone ruled what was authentic. She was indifferent to developments outside Bayreuth.

Like Richard she despised theatre routine. Bayreuth was to be an anti-theatre, in liberating contrast to modern taste.

Her sharpest critics, and they extended from Shaw to Schönberg, allowed themselves to be overpowered by her, perhaps only for moments, but then, as it is said, for moments, they lived in paradise.

As mistress of the Master she gave herself a free hand with his works but not arbitrarily. Bayreuth was to become



Propriety amid scandal... Cosima and Richard Wagner. (Photo: Ullstein)

something like the Comédie française, exemplary as regards gestures, declamation and stage sets.

She knowingly aspired to a singing style that was certainly not what Wagner intended. She knew and loved Bellini. He made it clear that he did not want the bellowing of consonants.

She took Wagner strictly at his word as far as the action and dramatic moment was concerned, but unconditionally his conversion to beautiful expressive singing.

She was the original mother of the theatre director. As such she ruled without restriction in Bayreuth with knowledgeable exactness according to her idea of what the Master wanted.

She drew up from his writings, associations and ideas a contemporary religion of art and made of Bayreuth a place for world redemption, a Lourdes for people of sensibility, who sought there a way to a better and more beautiful world.

For Wagner the stage remained always theatre, despite the romantic intention of melting together art and religion. He sowed in the artist the prophet of social-aesthetic ennoblement.

Cosima, who since her youth had placed her religious nature in the service of art, eventually found in *Parsifal*, compressed into a catechism, that which led to redemption from banality and moral stupidity.

Her religious nature moved from the Roman to the Lutheran, in which Wagner, with his free sense of religion, wanted to discern a free, aesthetic enthusiasm.

The widow of an artist, who reigned supreme in her world, busied about as the guardian of his kingdom.

She administered the mysteries of a "weltanschauung," and superior people, certainly not all, were to be led to be true noble souls and to self-redemption.

As heiress of the 19th century she served the supreme hope that Wagner sought to fulfill, the hope of a new mythology, with which he would subjugate the world and interpret it.

Cosima's lasting service was to make him an international event, from being a stimulator of the avantgarde movement to a destroyer of every possible artistic ideology.

Eberhard Stramb

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 December 1987)

■ GROWING UP

Literary, drawing contest reveals youthful thoughts



this or that fellow pupil does not fit into school class society.

They do not look at this with the eyes of the distant, cool, observing analyst, but ready to get involved and be sympathetic.

The jury, in its assessment of the competition, came to the conclusion that all the texts always expressed "sympathy, almost always in a positive sense."

Nina, 15, wrote: "Marie's mother slaves away all day in a charwoman. In the evenings she works in a pub. But they were always poor. Marie's father drank and squandered money on his friends. But it wasn't always like that for Marie, or was it? I hasn't her father always been a drinker? I know that you have always loved him. You could never bear to hear people talking badly about him. Yes, Marie. Now everything is over. Did you really go to heaven, or is that just also gossip?"

But what do we really know about our young people, when we know all this but we don't know why "our child" is so depressed for days on end?

Why don't young people get a chance to speak for themselves? This was the view of Hesse Education Minister Karl Schneider who invited schoolchildren from classes 7 to 10 (from about 13 or 14 to 18 or 19) from schools providing a general education to take part in a literary and drawing competition.

The response was enormous, for 1,400 schoolchildren produced 500 entries and 900 pictures on the theme "Find, invent a person..."

A book with title has been published of 42 especially successful stories and poems and 160 drawings.

Artistic merit apart, this gives impressive evidence of what is important to young people, what they hold in contempt, what they believe and what they dream about.

If you go into the stories of Marie and of the Wind Witch, the Man at the Bus Stop and Friend August, it can be seen that they are all written primarily from the heart. Antoine de Saint-Exupéry said that one could only see correctly with the heart.

According to the author of the story about the Little Prince fundamentals are invisible to the eye. Eloquent Jesuit Father Johannes Leppich accused mothers and fathers of "having a callous over their souls." This is not true of the offspring of these parents so scolded by the good Father.

Quite the contrary. In their texts and drawings they showed sensibility and perplexity — in fashionable accord with social trends. They showed themselves to be involved in life and the suffering of their fellow man.

They are involved and spell out happiness not just as a career. Their truth is, like the truth of every young person, radical and is not open to compromise.

If these young boys and girls would like to separate themselves in many things from previous generations, in their dreams of love, happiness and security, if sincerity and fairness they are all alike. And they are all full of feeling.

For the largest number of competition texts (180) were involved with what is most important for young people, with the realities of living, with friends, fellow pupils and comrades.

Although they did not generally include major social crisis situations — the question of unemployment was only dealt with in two of the texts — there were among the other texts some examples of impressive "soocial reporting."

It seems that young people look more closely if it comes to the question why



Facing up to life ... two entries, both pencil drawings.

(From: Finale, erfindet eine Person ... HIBS, Wiesbaden)

cators can draw their conclusions from that.

And what do educationalists, mothers and fathers say about the fact that the visual world of their children — 905 drawings were submitted — hardly draws a smile and rarely shows a happy face?

Leafing through the book, obtainable from the Hesse Institute for Educational Planning and School Development in Wiesbaden, one asks: where is there, even in the writing signs of happiness and exuberance? Here the exception proves the rule, a "gallery of seriousness, of life with a mask and reticence."

Helga Kämpf-Jansen of Giessen University, who served on the jury, made an analysis and asked, in another context:

"Is there a contemporary image of people, with whom they can themselves identify or to whom they can project their wishes and longings as well as their anxieties and sense of hopelessness?"

Perhaps in the first place it is not the choice of people, that permits us to come to conclusions on the state of the soul of young people today, but rather their strange bloodless presentation that presages why young people have so little happiness ...

The most impressive pictures were produced by mentally or physically handicapped children, impressive because they were the most natural.

Basey is 14 and a spastic. She can only control her hand with considerable effort and an iron will. Basey cannot walk and drew a person whose legs were disproportionately long.

Georg, 14, painted his face with two enormous tears. His lady teacher said: "If we could all see and hear just a little more closely, perhaps Georg could then paint a more happy picture of himself."

Peter Scherer
(Die Welt, Bonn, 4 January 1988)

Children recall anti-authority up-bringing

Anti-authoritarian up-bringing became popular 20 years ago for parents who believed that if society were to be free, every individual must be free. The children were sent to a special breed of kindergarten called a Kindergarten: The first of these children are now aged between 17 and 23. Sixty of them met in Berlin this month to compare notes. And there were some surprises: It seems none had turned out as their parents had hoped: only two are politically active; and their general political awareness is no different from other children. Christian Blees reports for Der Tagesspiegel.

Twenty years ago revolutionary anti-authoritarian education first made its appearance in the Federal Republic.

We had to discuss and talk about everything. Sometimes I just did not want to do so, particularly during puberty," one participant said.

He continued: "I was not very enthusiastic to report to my mother in detail about my first girlfriends. We went into very private areas of our lives in the endless discussions."

Many of the participants nodded their heads in agreement with what he had said.

The parents were well intentioned. With anti-authoritarian education the dependence of children on their parents was supposed to be broken down, leaving them free so long as their freedom did not detract from that of others.

The advocates of anti-authoritarian education believed that if society wanted to be free then every individual must be free.

In the course of the discussions it was clear that the high-ambitious parents had for their children had not generally been achieved by them.

Sibyl confessed: "I did not become what my mother wanted me to be. When I was a child my mother spoke to me as if

I stoned, constantly told me about her bed life. Everything took place under the pretext of free sex education. In fact she just wanted to off-load her own problems."

Members of "Kommune 2" recognised that there was a positive side to this transference of parents' problems to their children.

As members of the first communal living project in this country (a group of people sharing a flat together) in 1969 they established that, "Some unconscious projections were accessible to the consciousness in parent collectives and in the observation of other children. The parents were forced more to deal with their conflicts with one another, instead of working them off on the children."

The security that an anti-authoritarian kindergarten offered to the children, and the fact that the parents no longer had to involve themselves exclusively with their children, gave parental conflicts, so often constantly under pressure, a chance to break out.

The problem of what to do with the children should they divorce lost a lot of its edge, since the collective responsibility for the children was vested in the anti-authoritarian kindergarten.

Peter, speaking for those present, describing an important aspect of these newly-created arrangements, said: "Wives mainly benefited from anti-authoritarian kindergartens. They could get involved politically and get emancipated." After my mother had the chance of giving more time to her own

Continued on page 13

■ ETHICS

Death-with-dignity society spells out demands for those who want to die

DIE ZEIT

The first cyanide death to be connected to the activities of DGHS (German death-with-dignity society) was in 1984. Since then, other cases have come to light at various times. In December last year, a 27-year-old woman killed herself with putative help from the society. Hans Henning Arott is the society's president. Another name connected with it is Julius Heschel, a well-known and controversial cancer specialist. This article was written for *Die Zeit* by Christel Hofmann.

Death with dignity means the DGHS occasionally have to supply the substance which brings about death. As in the case of the two paraplegic women. In the eyes of the public, the use of cyanide has become a bone of contention.

Is the DGHS a supply centre for cyanide? Arott says: "Anybody can make cyanide. He only needs to mix prussic acid and potassium."

The compound itself is not poisonous. But if swallowed, it mixes with stomach acids and releases potassium salts. This causes brain death long before the heart stops beating. It's like a quick version of dying from carbon monoxide fumes in a car.

Arott considers cyanide the best substance available. It would be the only one he would use himself. "A few grams are enough to complete the act. There are no side effects such as vomiting or pain, and it acts quickly and is absolutely deadly. It's simply too good to be given to the general public."

The DGHS publishes a brochure which is given to members a year after they have joined.

And which substance does the DGHS recommend? The reply was certainly not cyanide. The society recommends the exclusive use of medicines. There are several reasons," he said. "One cannot rule out abuse, or deception."

But there are three known cases where cyanide was provided. Arott prefers not to see the contradiction. Although he admits that no colleague may act without his instructions.

People are conscious of death and euthanasia and it has become fashionable again to debate it as an issue in public.

Arott has no problems at all in talking about death. He is unemotional and matter-of-fact. He tackles all questions and is not embarrassed by any of his answers.

Arott estimates between 2,000 and 3,000 people use the society's guidelines to commit suicide. "We make sure

that they were no different from other young people of their age."

They rejected the comment that they were an élite, and took the opinion that "We have learned to talk about problems. To this extent we are superior to other young people. While they suppress their worries and anxieties we can discuss them openly."

He continued: "I was particularly aware of this when other children, brought up in the normal way, regarded me as homosexual because of my 'unmanly' behaviour."

A further problem for children raised in anti-authoritarian kindergartens is that their parents had hoped for their sons and daughters.

They have not learned to be mistrustful of the authorities such as school or the state, and not one of them has become a "political fighter."

If the parents of twenty years ago still dreamed of a political revolution, now only a couple of their children are political activists.

Astonishingly, the blame for this in

that death is humane and doesn't endanger others," he said.

The society gets its staff from many different walks of life. Many of them are people seeking new work. Many are students whose studies are related to the theme.

People ask how the society makes an irreversible decision about a person's death wish?

The society uses its decision on information which it gathers and on conversations with the applicants. They wait a certain amount of time. A colleague can turn down help to commit suicide.

The society has to avoid making false evaluations. If a person has psychological reasons for wanting to die he can be very changeable. If physical reasons are the cause, time will show if the person really means what he says.

Arott says there are many physical reasons for wanting to die. A person's history was important in determining the psychological state of mind. A woman who had been handicapped from birth was capable of enjoying life. She had never known anything else other than physical handicap.

But a young attractive woman who had played sport, for example, would have different expectations from life.

If an accident made her paraplegic, she would have to redefine what she expects from life.

Arott said it was society's duty to be tolerant if she decided that the quality of her life was so bad that she wanted to end it.

Thus words such as quality and tolerance have become trendy words in the vocabulary of the DGHS. They appear in their publications.

This is the basic difference to the practices of the Nazis. The individual and not the state makes the decision about his quality of life or about his life at all.

Well-balanced people should be able to decide under which conditions their lives are worth living.

The Emnid institute in Bielefeld did a survey on euthanasia. The results were 79 per cent for active euthanasia according to patient's wish under the legal supervision.

Our organisation and the support of three quarters of our citizens took off at this point."

The DGHS has four regulations which ensure patients' intentions are in writing in case they are unable to speak.

The patient forbids the use of superfluous treatment and states his wish to have a generous dose of painkillers.

The organisation has a bank made up of signed consents in case the person has an accident and his consent with his instructions cannot be found.

In emergencies like this the organisation can send its member's instructions direct to the hospital.

Arott was asked what would he do if a politician came to him who was once at the top of his profession and was now at the bottom. "I would help him just like anybody else," he said.

In ancient Israel, long before exile, the people translated their ancient wisdom into psalms so that everyone could learn from them. Three thousand years later psalm 90 verse 12 is still impressive.

Lord teach me wisdom, that I might comprehend that I have to die."

The psalm says "live to" not "can."

He meant the end of biography.

The DGHS continues to research conscientiously for acceptable substances which as they put it "liberate people." But to liberate them from what?

Even from a biography which is never really finished? We are still awaiting an answer to the question what is death with dignity.

Christel Hofmann

(*Der Tagesspiegel*, Berlin, 10 January 1988)



The right to choose ... Hans Henning Arott

(Photo: dpa)

according to patient's wish under the legal supervision.

The percentage of supporters is higher among people with a higher education and income.

The DGHS draws the conclusion the quality of life in general takes precedence over longevity.

Aurelio Peacci, the late founder of the Club of Rome, called on the world to introduce new concepts of religion to solve the problems of the present.

Is the euthanasia society on the way to solving these problems?

Arott regards the DGHS as a civil rights movement. "We are the bad conscience of medical organisations. We do battle in their affairs wanting to give death and dying back to lay people," he said.

Our call for the right to mercy killing is, he added "the result of new medical technology which makes it possible to indefinitely keep people alive in hopeless cases."

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Christel Hofmann

(*Der*

HORIZONS

Box-hut settlement for the homeless — if they can stand the aggro



Home, sweet home. (Photo: dpa)

Twenty windowless orange-enclosed metal boxes sitting in rows on a fairground field just out of Stuttgart are known as 'The Containers'. They are cheap temporary accommodation for the homeless. Each hut, if these primitive dwellings measuring two metres wide by six metres long by 12 feet high can be so described, has up to four camping stretchers. They have been built by the Stuttgart authorities, they are hired and there is a kitchen and lavatories in the grounds. But many homeless people refuse to go there. They are dissuaded by the sometimes anarchic social climate. In this article for *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, Peter Henkel looks at the settlement against the background of homelessness in the Stuttgart area.

The only other containers in the vicinity are the refuse receptacles, the sight of which conjures up cynical comparisons: waste in both containers, rejected and discarded.

The situation, however, is one of the more distressing sides of the problem of homelessness.

The very fact that such accommodation exists in Baden-Württemberg is in itself a scandal. In this article for *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, Peter Henkel looks at the settlement against the background of homelessness in the Stuttgart area.

The orange-coloured huts on the Cannstatter Wasen grounds near Stuttgart look like fairground stands.

This is the venue of a public festival every year, so it's hardly surprising that this is the first thing that comes to mind when people see them from a distance.

Once a year, people from all over Württemberg flock to the festival, the second biggest of its kind in Germany, to gorge themselves with chicken and drink vast quantities of alcohol.

The huts, just a stone's throw away from the River Neckar, are still almost brand-new. Each is two metres wide and six metres long, and are already

commonly referred to as 'The Containers'. Each contains up to four camp beds. Almost 80 people regard the huts as their home for periods ranging from weeks to months.

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The situation for extremely low-lit-

come single men looking for a place to stay (despite the growing number of women among the homeless men still account for the lion's share) is already alarming enough.

According to the authorities and advice centres, the situation in the flour-

ishing metropolis Stuttgart is 'simply catastrophic'.

All possible steps are being taken to find inexpensive accommodation so as not to have to resort to such products of helplessness, symbolised by the fair-

ground containers.

For the persons of no fixed abode, vo-

grants, city tramps or whatever theulti-

mate classification of these social groups may be, however, a monthly rent of DM1,400 for an 80-square-metre four-room flat is the 'pain threshold', no one social welfare office worker put it.

The various advice

centres in this field find themselves in a

paradoxical situation.

A fair number of social workers try to

ensure their reintegration into society.

Such initiatives are faced by numerous difficulties and opposition — even from the homeless themselves — and reintegration into the working world in particular is rarely successful.

A uniform federal legal basis outlining the duties towards those seeking help is missing.

Stuttgart has complained for some time now about the inactivity of neighbouring towns and cities, which more or less shift the responsibility to the regional capital.

The independent welfare organisations — above all, the Protestant and Catholic groups — are also pulling their weight in a concerted effort to help the homeless.

The situation remains urgent. One so-

cial worker explained what a distressing experience it is for him to try and help a young man who is fit, but who is slowly but surely becoming destitute.

Just one of the growing number of

young men who are rapidly changing the general opinion that the homeless are

bedraggled tramps over the age of forty.

Employers are even less willing than

landlords to give people coming from the

world of the homeless another chance.

They at least have heating and there is a

nearby kitchen and sanitary hit.

The authorities know, however, that the

'law of the jungle' often rules there, which

explains why many a homeless person re-

jects the idea of living in this environment.

One homeless person said that he

would rather set up a bivouac on the ice

outside rather than move into such an 'ag-

gressive hell'.

There are still plenty of loners who

prefer camping out in the sharp frost to all

forms of social contact, even though they

have long since become a small minority.

The tenants in the Stuttgart containers

are also still a minority, but symptomatic

of a society which is becoming socially

polarised.

No-one, of course, is happy about the

miserable boxes on the banks of the

Neckar.

The idea that some people hoped that

the erection of these huts would deter

some of the homeless from getting into this

situation in the first place is not as absurd

as it may sound.

'A system cannot organise itself in a

more awe-inspiring way,' said one of the

homeless persons, 'than to try and deter

its victims via other victims'.

Conflict with the law, alcoholism and

divorce, however, almost always figure as

the cause or result of their plight.'

Statistics show that all four factors are

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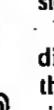
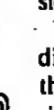
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**FRONTIERS**

The man they seek everywhere remains in the shadows

When Werner Mauss telephones one of the many lawyers across the nation who are involved with his work, he announces himself by saying, 'Hier bin ich (here I am)'.

The lawyers know him only by telephone. Telephonists know only the imperious tone of his voice. It tends to fluster them. Mauss is the best-known secret agent in Germany since James Bond.

It even turns out that when the former Premier of Schleswig-Holstein, Uwe Barschel, was found dead in the bath of a hotel room in Geneva, Mauss was also in Geneva in a neighbouring hotel.

The 47-year-old detective has become the subject of an illustrious magazine series and a book is soon to be published. However, the publication of an up-to-date photo of him and details of what he has been getting up to have been banned by court order.

The only reason that anything at all about Mauss, who is known to use at least 26 aliases, has emerged is because a Lower Saxon Land assembly parliamentary committee is trying to find out more about him. So far, it has been an uphill struggle.

Mauss has been working for more than a decade for industrial interests, for insurance companies, for the *Bundesverfassungsschutz*, (the counter-espionage Office for the Protection of the Constitution) and the BKA (federal police equivalent to the FBI or CID). He investigates insurance fraud, art-thefts and even terrorism.

He is different from James Bond not so much in lifestyle (Mauss has a private aircraft and other Bondish trappings) but more in the fact that he is not bound by oath to Her Majesty. He is a free-lance, with the only royal connection being the size of his fees.

If the seven members of the parliamentary committee had their way, Mauss would be brought before them and called on to explain his actions. He has firmly refused to come to a hearing on the grounds that it would endanger his life. He is now thought to have gone to Australia.

Frau Oechsle-Misfeld is a lawyer, her client was Werner Pinzner, known as the Killer of St Pauli.

On 29 July 1986, in Hamburg police headquarters he shot dead a prosecutor assigned to his case, his wife and finally himself. The bloodbath led to the resignation of two members of the Hamburg city cabinet.

The case of the state against the 40-year-old lawyer has all the attributes of a sensation. The accused is an attractive woman, academic and from a middle-class Lübeck family. A woman who became involved with the St Pauli underworld, became counsel for a killer who had killed five times on contract, who was present when Pinzner pulled the trigger.

According to medical reports, Frau Oechsle-Misfeld is now mentally ill and possibly not fit for trial.

There are many other ingredients to this affair. For months the trial of a brother-owner called Josef Nusser has been in progress. He is said to be one of those to have ordered Pinzner to carry out killings. Also involved in the trial are two men who, among other things, are said to be cohorts of Pinzner.

And then there are Messrs Holger Saß, 'Kalle' Schweissen and 'Ritter' Klemm. Klemm has been extradited from Costa Rica, who are known as the Mr Bigs of

Mauss and his hirers, little more was achieved than loosening a few tongues.

One of the main witnesses even admitted having lied. And the chief investigator of the Hanover BKA was threatened with a perjury charge for what he told the parliamentary committee.

Other witnesses told of how Mauss used reward money to persuade witnesses to say the right thing. If that didn't work, Mauss would use stronger methods.

When the committee got round to investigating the prison-wall explosion, it was handicapped not so much by people telling lies as people saying hardly anything at all. One sitting had to be adjourned because five witnesses did not turn up.

The committee appealed to the Bonn Interior Minister, Friedrich Zimmermann (CDU) because he had delayed approval for the head of the *Verfassungsschutz*.

In addition, the committee learned that its jurisdiction ended at the Lower Saxon Land borders. A court decided that witnesses from other Länder did not need to appear. The issue is now to be ruled on by a higher court.

The question of whether Mauss should be the subject of an International hunt, is a question that lawyers are now discussing.

Even if a court gives legal backing to everything the committee wants, it does not mean an arrest warrant can be issued. Mauss' counsel are prepared to exhaust all legal avenues for their client.

Parliamentarians trying to get at the truth behind the events are not even getting very far with politicians responsible for the criminal police and the counter-espionage agency.



One of the few photos of Werner Mauss. (Photo: dpa)

Lower Saxony's largest-circulation regional newspaper even said that the Land's Interior Minister, Wilfried Haselmann (CDU), was making 'getting at the truth as difficult as possible.'

Just how for this cronyism between the investigation authorities and their free-lance employees goes was discovered by Rudolf Fischer, a member of the investigating committee and head of the assembly's FDP group.

He told the assembly he had information from a reliable source according to which a journalist who was also an occasional informant for the *Verfassungsschutz* had been warned by official circles in advance that his house was to be searched.

This was in connection with the Barschel affair.

Thomas Kröter

(*Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, Cologne, 11 January 1988)

That also means that those witnesses who have so far survived are not exactly spilling the beans. There are great fears for the life of the woman who reportedly has the most of all to tell: Isolde Oechsle-Misfeld.

She is reputed to be the best-protected prisoner in the entire nation. Down in the gangland underworld, it is being said that her best chances of survival are 'to keep as quiet as o toomb.'

The prosecution is seeking to prove that, on the orders of the St Pauli bosses, particularly Klemm, she persuaded Pinzner to make the 'big exit': the murder of the prosecutor, Wolfgang Bistri, and the himself.

The state prosecution case now is that the men in the background feared that the talkative Pinzner would say too much and that, in any case, Bistri already knew too much.

It says that the term 'exit triumphalis' is a term used by Frau Oechsle-Misfeld to a Hamburg journalist before the killings at police headquarters.

It is being alleged that, in return for the killings, Pinzner's teenage daughter, Birgit, whom he loved more than anybody, would receive a monthly income of 1,500 marks. Two of these monthly payments are known to have been paid.

Between April and the end of July in 1986, Frau Oechsle-Misfeld visited Pinzner 74 times in his cell.

It is alleged that she brought him heroin, hashish and cocaine which had been obtained from sources in the underworld.

This is proving to be one of the most difficult investigations ever in Hamburg. Many witnesses aren't alive any more to tell what they know. They have either been murdered or have supposedly killed themselves.

Thomas Wolpert

(*Münchner Merkur*